1:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1945 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Unqualified social grouping.—The modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* are divided into three loosely separated classes: the wealthy, the unattached commoners, and the poorer people working as peons on estates. Earlier, too, there was a similar loose triple division into: wealthy and curiqueo, commoners, and "slaves" and captives.

Personal rank and prestige was derived chiefly from martial prowess and from wealth; generous hospitality, and eloquence in speech were other well-recognized avenues to status.

There were no secret or other societies, and no formal organization of age classes. There is no tangible evidence of moieties; the term Inchiuhuin, "la mitad de una cosa," given by Luis de Valdivia (1887, s.v.) in his vocabulary, hardly constitutes such evidence, problematic though the meaning of the term be. There existed a type of "blood-brotherhood" (konchi), entered into by two men with a ceremonial giving and/or killing of a lamb or other animal (Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s.v. konchi; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 289–91). Other kinds of "brotherhood" were entered into between two men, two women, or a man and woman by drinking or eating together or by exchanging presents, and between two families or tribes by the more solemn ritual killing of a lamb and eating it together and by offering prayers. (Housse, 1939, p. 205–10; cf. Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 66; Havestadt, 1883, 2:491; Smith, 1855, pp. 239–42.)

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—Our earliest specific, albeit meager, information on land tenure is from the second half of the 18th century (Molina, 1865, pp. 122, 140; Gómez de Vidaurre, 1889, 14:341); later writers have added a little but not much. (Smith, 1855, pp. 240–41; Ruiz Aldea, 1902, pp. 18, 20; Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 38–39; Bullock, 1911, p. 8; Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 412–13; Moesbach, 1936, p. 192; McBride, 1936, pp. 208–09.) If we piece together the scanty and incomplete data available, the following outlines emerge, though none too clearly: Each family or close-kinship group claimed a given territory which had been passed on to it from its ancestors, this territory being held jointly or communally by the family or group. Land not under actual cultivation or lying temporarily fallow was communally held. Each individual—or family—had exclusive rights of use to the land claimed as fallow or under cultivation by him, and to its products, and could transmit such land to his heir or heirs. According to Smith (1855, p. 241), only the headman could dispose by sale or otherwise of clan land to Indians who were not members of the community, but all selling of land to Whites was a capital crime. Each wife in polygynous households received her own garden plot from the husband (Ruiz Aldea, 1902, p. 20; cf. Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), and kept separately the products thereof; in addition, she owned her own chickens

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or *koscho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco,* it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community – a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

second in-place dance is performed to the compounds of the segments, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *muday* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ruwadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared.

When the segments signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ruwadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ruwada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *ñeñetuetun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time.

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donees are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *konkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *konkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other.

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial

12: Farrer E-4, 5 (1932-1934) 1964
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even well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, their obligation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it.

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song over or near. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presage ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune.

During oblation the ritual priest (ollantaÿ) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the ollantaÿ, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the hunakuna ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood.

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, ckoyoris, twin born, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and their complementary opposites, wakaÿa, ancocoris, kai kai, night, and the death in which losers of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned criteria would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

2: Musters T-S (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T 262 226 177 Tehuelches would believe this trouch the fish caught by me, and even expressed great disgust at the idea, is worthy of note, as it has been stated that on the coast they catch and eat sea fish, which could only be alleged by persons ignorant of their real habits of life.*

T 193 On the 13th we marched; the cause of our detention for the two extra days being the continued sickness of Orimé, who, however, at length determined to make an effort and proceed, although barely able to sit on his horse. The woman followed, more or less, the valley of the river, whilst the hunters ranged over the hills, which on the western side were in most parts free from rock and stones and abounded with ostriches. During the journey I came suddenly on two T [193] wild cats, one of which my dog attacked and killed, and the other fell a victim to my bolas. These were of the species common in the provinces of La Plata, and especially in the islands of the Parana. Towards evening we came on another small stream flowing into the main river, into the plain of which we subsequently descended and found the toldos A already pitched, literally 'sub tegmine fagi.' During this 608 day's ride, happening to be in the same part of the circle as the Araucanians, we cooked our dinners in company and rode home together. On the way Quintuhual's eldest son, with whom I had always had very friendly relations, said that he desired to recognise me as his brother. So we accordingly joined hands, and riding together formally declared that we were as brothers, and would always remember the duties of our relationship and assist each other, if needs be, in whatever part of the world we might be placed. All this was very satisfactory, and it may be interesting to the reader to know that my sisters and cousins were the good-looking girls who had asked such curious questions at Engel, and with whom, though we could not understand each other's language, I had always kept up a laughing acquaintance, thereby arousing considerable jealousy in the bosoms of my Tehuelche friends.

* Cf. Guinnard, 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. 78.